1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
MA11 Kurd MA11

234 bag filled with milk is suspended horizontally by two cords, and to this apparatus the Kūrdish maidens impart a swinging movement, which, in course of time, 262 converts the milk into butter. Their cheese, which is [263] called *djadjk*, and is much relished, contains some prickly herb, possessing a flavour like that of onions.

291 The dress of Kūrdish women of the better class is composed of a loose chemise with sleeves and wide Turkish trousers, secured round the waist by a belt fastened with a large clasp of gold or silver. Over this is worn a gown cut like the coats of the men, and fastened only at the throat, leaving the chemise and trousers visible. It is made of striped or variegated silk or cotton stuff from Gugerat or Constantinople, or of rich Oriental brocade, according to the season and the position of the wearer. Next comes the *bish*, which is generally of satin, and shaped like the gown, but with short tight sleeves which do not reach the elbow. In winter this is replaced by a *libardé*, or long jacket of quilted cotton. In winter, Kūrdish ladies sometimes adopt the national *tchurokia*, a cloak of yellow and red plaid, fastened across the shoulders and falling below the knees. Their head-dress is a prodigiously heavy construction. It consists of silk kerchiefs, or rather shawls, of all the colours of the rainbow, pinned together in the form of a mitre two feet in height, with long ends hanging down nearly to the heels. Some of these mitres are ornamented with rows of gold lace, from [301] which depend little leaf-like gold ornaments, which, with strings of coins and glass beads, chiefly constitute the jewellery of a Kūrdish lady. Notwith-

although the Israeli is universally despised, brought a decline in the variety and quality of craftsmanship in Rowanduz freely confessed and regretted by the townspeople. A man who now wishes to purchase such things as gold jewelry for his wife must travel to Erbil. [301]

It must be admitted that the strength of the town as a center based on village trade is precarious, and much of the commercial activity with importance in district economy has been replaced by service to the government personnel and the several wealthy landowners who reside within it. In brief, the economic realignments of the first World War have changed the bases of the size and importance of Rowanduz. Once these were primarily commercial, and only secondarily political, while today a reversal of this position has taken place. The increased influence of the government, which is a matter of numbers, into everyday life has introduced into the town a new income without whose supplement Rowanduz might have experienced certain decline.

rarely wear stockings, for there is little need of them with the ankle-length trousers. Those of wealthier homes often use them, obtained from the local merchants or Erbil. 291

The clothing of infants and children does not require extended discussion. Infants, both male and female, are clad in simple cloth dresses, utilized at one time for a boy and the next for a girl, and no diapers or undergarments of a specific type are in use. Girls add a pair of cotton drawers beneath the dress at about five years of age, and continue in this simple ensemble until they reach what is considered a marriageable age, usually about sixteen. At this point they begin to don the pacha or light veil whenever in public. The daughters of the wealthy may have a rich costume and jewelry in imitation of their mothers, but most have to await their wedding for these things. In a family with a number of daughters, such as that of the merchant Fatah-Ullah with six, the dresses are traded about regularly, almost from day to day, and a problem faced by parents is providing a new garment for one daughter without a storm of protests from her sisters. Little boys of the wealthy houses are also outfitted at an early age in imitation of their elders or, sometimes, as in the case of the nephew of Ra'uf Effendi (who, incidentally, always appears in Kurdish dress), have European blouses and playsuits. On the garb of this particular youngster, however to all appearances European, one must note the piece of blue porcelain pinned on the shoulder to ward off the evil eye. Most boys of the town wear [301] [751] [754]

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcized, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

and the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch as the greater number of husbands do not anticipate divorce, a profit realized in business may be presented to their spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for the wife, not solely from the decorative point of view. Only land and precious metal have real and lasting value in the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly earnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20) related how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and subsequently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars ($224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The jewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with her if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she pleases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells it to reinstate him or support the family, and may subsidize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in the same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of the gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly different in style from that produced for the lower classes in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that some of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type, such as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and bangles of precious metal are made up into more or less complex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the most expensive items is a collar or necklace of concentric circles of gold chain joined together by flat bangles of various geometric shapes, and another, the <u>qurs</u> or disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

301 [583]
301 454
[586]
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mentioned. Precious stones and pearls are little in evidence, but coins, of almost any age and variety, are often drilled and included in the ensembles. The silver khizam or nose-ring, sometimes containing a piece of turquoise, is only affected by women of the villages. Many married couples wear rings, usually of silver and sometimes set with a piece of coloured glass, on the third or fourth finger of the right hand, but they are not a necessary part of engagement or marriage. Men wear little jewelry save a ring and a few sport a silver or imitation gold watch-fob hanging from a breast pocket. There is some aversion on the part of men to wearing gold, and this is said to have a background in Islamic tradition. The elegant seal-rings of Medieval and Ottoman times have almost completely disappeared, except in a few of the older families, such as that of Ra'uf Effendi, where they are preserved as heirlooms.

It has been seen that the townspeople have little regard for intoxicants, nor do they make use of drugs such as the opium of Iran to the east or the hashish of Lebanon and Syria to the west. If there are excesses among the natives of Rowanduz, they are only tea-drinking and smoking, the first of which has been discussed. Cigarettes are the most popular mode of consuming tobacco, and have several varieties. From the merchants British cigarettes and those made in the factories of Baghdad may be obtained. The officials and officers habitually use these, and they are

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." 583 554

It is perhaps for this reason that the muqaddam, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'akhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe. [586] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these prescriptions. There is 582 834

be blamed for it, and there is no witch-hunting on its account. The damage is done in the single glance, and there is no known technique for averting the inevitable catastrophe once it has been initiated. 754 761

On the other hand, preventive charms are great in number. First among them are those derived from the Quran, slips of paper on which certain passages have been written or copies of the work itself. The scrolls can be obtained in metal cases which are worn about the throat, sometimes as a part of the jewelry, but are more commonly stitched in cloth packets hung on a string around the neck or pinned to the shoulder. Metal disks inscribed with the name of God are also in use, as well as expensive types of pendants which exhibit complete paragraphs from the Quran. Two popular items made up into charms are imported from Iran, irregularly shaped bits of turquoise or blue porcelain and small white sea-shells. These are pierced and either strung on a thread or kept in a cloth bag. One charm is to sew two green beads in a piece of cloth, another is a piece of pumice wrapped in a cloth, and a third, called mazu, consists of two pieces of the yellow bark of a certain tree hung on a string with a yellow bead between them. A piece of cloth from the grave of a holy man may be incorporated in some packets. An interesting symbol, a wheel whose four spokes are filled with geometric designs, is painted on the walls of houses or embroidered on cloth and sewn on the garments of children. 751 777 301 [439] 751. 777 [531]

children. That a blue porcelain plate or a pair of old shoes is often installed beside the door of a house has been noticed. An iron horseshoe, as in America, may also be nailed above a door or on a wall. A human hand cut out of metal, the "Hand of Fatima" spoken of previously, is often found in jewelry. Adults seem to require little protection against the evil eye, but younger children, particularly males, almost always have charms pinned to their garments and their cradles are hung with them. Houses and animals are similarly protected. There is some rationalization of these charms. Those derived from the Quran have a power within them. The others, apart from their intrinsic qualities, deflect the glance of the evil eye from the object in question to themselves, a sort of magnetic property, because of their bright colour, their design, or something else.

777 751 [301] [854]

Charms such as these have a variety of origins. Minature copies of the Quran, metal disks, beads, pieces of turquoise, and shells are imported by the merchants and sold in the bazar, not only to the townspeople, but to the villagers among whom they are always in great demand. Slips of paper on which appropriate Quranic verses have been written may be obtained from one of the mullas or some other literate specialist. Cloth from the tomb of a holy man is easily obtained. Most persons assemble their own combinations, stitching them in cloth bags which are worn about the neck or pinned to the garments. Many of these are not solely to ward off

keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence. [illegible] Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian sisters[17]. In regard to marriage and the polygynal sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Eagle[18] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding[19] "few instances between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ....".

It is fact that the individual Kurdish women of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted concerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the prominent position of their families[20]. Khanum Ganem Pasha, Lady Adile of Rhodigh[21] of the Ardalan Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Baganda family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the qa'im maqam in Sulaimaniya. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted labour in 1908 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Rasul Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, a age she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village schoolboy. Married women at the garden house, Sulaim.
Fig. 3. Village schoolboy. Married women making cigarettes, Sulaim. (See p. 10).

Fig. 1. Peasant women bring bread on circular iron sheet. Halabja. (See p. 17).

a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmoud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[9], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Alichelebi, some distance from Halabja, was in 1987 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmoud, as the real ruler and noble (king) of Kurdistan.

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmoud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

4: Human E-5 (1997) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a bedroom. The articles of value not locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and not impersonalized in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. To sleep was a family affair[1], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married women, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleaned after each meal, and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed, which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after menstruation or sexual intercourse[2], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work in the workhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources. One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the radius of the erratic light from the lamp. In the shop house of the village grocer-cum-pharmacist European elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only heard on the

appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treatment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nān*, of the thinness of paper, about 50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[1]. The dough, *hawīr*, is prepared from wheat flour, *ārd*, sifted through a round sieve, *wēr*, water, *āw*, and salt, *xwē*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xāle-dān*,[2] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gawk*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough about to placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that European dress enters the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking.

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village woman, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married woman, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

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Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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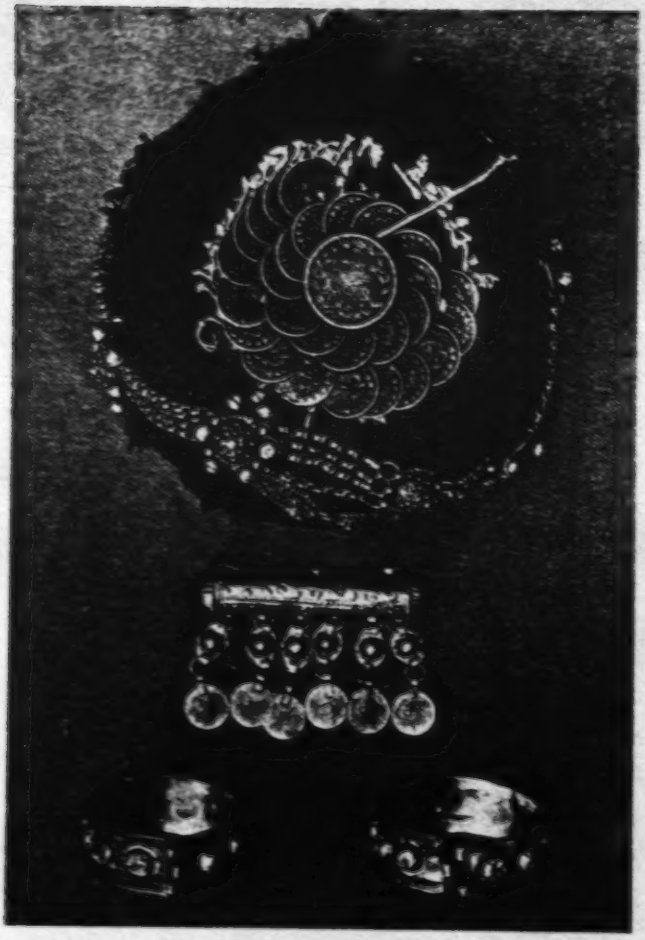

Fig. 67. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2298). Halabja. Cylindrical amulet box (E. 2292) and bangles (E. 2296-97). Sulaimani.

[P.83]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

301 *Jewellery.* Jewellery in various forms belongs to woman's clothing. It is an element in the presentation of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to woman's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish woman's costume of to-day.

291 301 Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap chin chain, *Zir-čina* or *kermik*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin at the top of the fez to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be sewn on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2293), 0.96 m. long. There existed circular temple ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of stones and silver objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet boxes were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *lûla*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[28]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, clusters of coins being sewn on as cover for the fez (E. 2298) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited in witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository. [583]

301 Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *hâzûn*, (E. 2296–97)[29] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *hirmîra* (E. 2290) or *milwânka* (E. 2291), plus necklaces of 20 fragrant beads of dried cloves, *mêxâk*, (E. 2289), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Women's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side or a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[30]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Topzawa by new arrivals with a specially long, pinned-up kirtle and a hood. These women wore across the hood a triple silver chain mounted with turquoise, *pêr'sûr*, (E. 2299).

Fig. 68. Nose ornament for woman (E. 2303).
Worn in a hole in the left nostril. Sulaimani. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachment, *lûzwâna*, (E. 2303) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be blue buttons or blue glass beads (E. 2287a–d) (cf. Superstition and Witchcraft, p. 154), but also of more precious metals. Brow ornaments of gold, plaited and stuck into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2302), the same type being called by the Arabs *hilâl*[31]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that link them with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have obliquely across its chest an ornament and amulet chain, *kâškûl*, (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small reproduction of a beggar's bowl[32].

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Fig. 69. Jewellery for "Persian" woman in Topzawa; triple silver head chain (E. 2299), belt with heavy metal bosses (E. 2300). Bought in the city in Sulaimani.

[p. 85]

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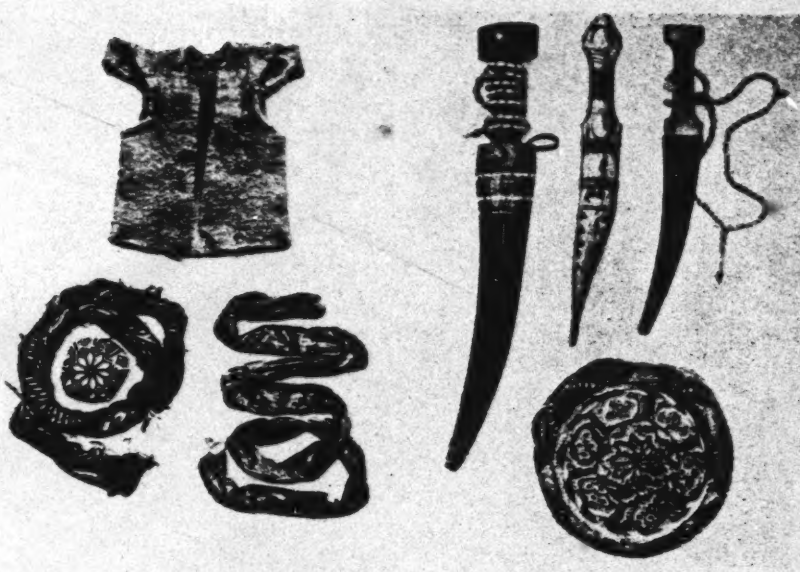

Fig. 81. Felt waistcoat (E. 2328), cap (E. 2318) surrounded by turban cloth (E. 2321), and scarf (E. 2323).
Fig. 82. Knives and rosaries. From left to right: E. 2282 with E. 2286, E. 2284, E. 2283 with E. 2285. Below: cap embroidered with gold and silk (E. 2326).

291 latter in adopting the trouser costume, by discarding the long caftan in favour of short waistcoat and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt arms that could be tied round an object, the waist sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 *Accessories* to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. 2277) and the curved dagger, *xanjar*[70], with sheath, 0.30 m.–0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. 2282, 0.405 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. 2283, 0.238 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. 2284, 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, *tasbia*, composed of 99 beads was wound round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd. being marked (E. 2285 of horn; E. 2286 of fruit pips). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers even

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

cases without using the washing board stored at and lent out by the mosque, and not within sight of the mother. Her rôle is a completely passive one. The cerements must consist of an unequal number of pieces of cloth. Neither knifes nor scissors are used to divide the material. Both the girl and the boy are carried from the home to the mosque, and then the burial ground, swathed in a prayer carpet over the cerements. Children are carried by a male relative (mother's brother: *xāl*), accompanied by other men. Lamentations incompatible with Islam and the sacrifice of a fowl were practised in the uneducated urban milieu. The sacrifice was not specially because a child was dead as is the case in Egypt, but because two deaths in the family had occurred shortly after each other and it was desired to avert a third in the near future. The mourning period for a child is a fortnight. The bathroom used for washing the corpse was shut for eight days afterwards. The women of the family visit the grave every Friday for five years, after which it is forgotten. Memorial cakes are distributed to friends and acquaintances in connexion with a death. The mourning period for adults is two-three years. Visits of condolence take place for eight days when a child dies. The women of the family remove their ornaments and abstain from baths during this time.

Fig. 95. Burial place with big trees outside the village. Topzawa.

4: Hansen E.-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

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771 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

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789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

789 Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinns*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 A chain of large blue glass beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil [822] influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.28 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

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Sulaimani, and is called: *kilitāl*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds call *kilitāl*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[30]. From the chain hang two silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as *hirmāw*, 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *milwānka*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294–2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075×0.08×0.015 and 0.06×0.06×0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *lūla*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognisable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly welcome.

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 158--ANALYST]

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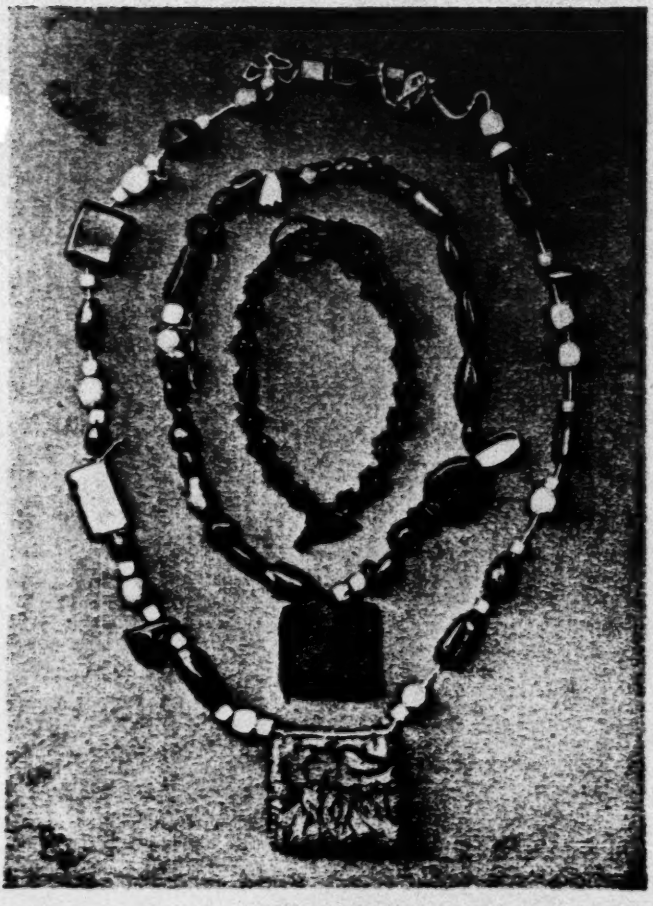

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
– stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
– stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

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Fig. 99. Jewels protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small hands (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the women: temple ornaments (E. 2294–95).